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PREVIOUS PROMISES

Inconsistent with a *8146.aaa.5.*
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FREE PARLIAMENT:

AND AN *Ireland Parliament*

AMPLE VINDICATION

OF THE

LAST PARLIAMENT.

By Sir Rich^d Cox Bart



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PREVIOUS PROMISES

Inconsistent with a

Free Parliament, &c.

THE wild notions of liberty, that have seized some people, at this critical season, and the extraordinary pains they take to imprint them upon others, call loudly for somebody to interpose, and to prevent the madness from spreading and becoming epidemical.

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It hath been usual to sound an alarm, when a parliament was to be elected, of some great danger hanging over the people, that a particular faction might prevail in the election; or, that a few, who had no other chance, might get in by popular stir and bustle. But then there was some matter to work upon; some plausible occasion of complaining.

Now, we are at peace with one another; united against a common enemy; enjoying our property, which improves every moment, by an extensive and flourishing trade; partaking of the benefit of excellent laws, which describe our civil and religious rights; and under the protection of a Prince, who, in his short time of reigning, hath given most affecting causes to believe, that he inherits the
eminent

eminent virtues of his royal ancestors, and will continue to his subjects the happiness they enjoyed under them.

It could not be believed, that, at such a season, there should be found any, much less learned and grave, persons, to blow the trumpet of discontent and dissention, if there were not printed proofs thereof.

THEIR examples have been followed by well-meaning, but deluded, men ; who have been long taught, they were able to judge of the most abstruse points in politicks, and to steer the state in the most difficult times.

THESE have publicly required all candidates for seats in parliament, previously to publish declarations, under their hands, “ That they will, to the
B 2 “ utmost

“utmost of their power, *oppose every*
 “*money-bill of longer duration than*
 “*six months*, until a law be obtained,
 “for limiting the length of parlia-
 “ments, in this kingdom, to six or
 “eight years at the most:” and they
 have declared, that they will not vote
 for any person, who doth not enter
 into this SOLEMN LEAGUE and COVE-
 NANT.

THESE *Followers* are most unhappily
 misled. It shall be my business, to
 endeavour to convince them of their
 error. I am not weak enough to set
 about convincing the *Leaders*. I
 write for the sake of the *Electors*, not
 for those who are mean enough to
 desire to be *elected* upon such terms.
 I shall not controvert, *that frequent*
elections are desirable. If that is to
 be a controversy, it will be time
 enough

enough to undertake it, when there shall be judges proper to determine it.

BE that as it may, I must hold it, *to be destructive of the constitution*, as it is *subversive of the freedom of parliament*, to compel the *elected*, to promise any thing to the *electors*, which the law doth not oblige them to promise, previously to their elections: and,

THAT the particular promise now required, is highly disrespectful of their present and late Majesties; an undeserved reproach upon the last parliament; and so big with absurdity, that no man of reflection, or acquainted with the proceeding in parliament, could make it with propriety, if he were not restrained upon any other account.

THAT

THAT it would be *destructive of the constitution, if it subverted the freedom of parliament*, will not be disputed: and the latter, I think, is not difficult to be proved.

BY the MODUS TENENDI PARLIAMENTAM, transmitted to this kingdom, with great ceremony, by king *Henry II.* under the regulations of which parliaments have been since held in this kingdom, it is ordered, *That two knights, &c. sufficiently honest and wise, shall be chosen for every county, &c. to do as every of their electors might do, if he were present.* And the WRIT of SUMMONS, in consequence of this MODUS, requires, *That they be of the fitter and more discreet persons, and shall have full power to act and consent in the arduous affairs of the kingdom, about which they shall be called to treat.* Accordingly, the indenture
between

between the RETURNING OFFICER and the ELECTORS witnesseth, *That the elected have full and sufficient power for themselves and the whole body, to do and to consent, as is required by the writ.*

THE idea we have of a *full power*, doth certainly admit of no abridgment. Every promise, to do or not to do any thing in parliament, is undoubtedly a restraint upon that *full power*. Why is it required, that the elected shall be *honest* or *fit*?---That his integrity may keep him impartial in his determination.---Why *wise* or *discreet*?---That he may be able to make a right judgment, and to chuse the best.

THESE provisions shew, to a demonstration, that it was intended, the elected should *bear* and *determine*:
for

for he is incapable of treating, who hath already determined. But a previous promise puts such a restraint upon him, as totally disqualifies him from considering the matters before him, however able or willing he may be to do so; subverts the freedom of parliament; tends to destroy the constitution; and, therefore, should be most carefully avoided by every true lover of liberty.

THE next point to be proved is, *That the particular promise required at this time to be made, is disrespectful to their present and late Majesties.*

THE promise required is, “ That
 “ he will, to the utmost of his power,
 “ *oppose every money-bill of longer du-*
 “ *ration than six months,* until a law
 “ be obtained, *for limiting the length*
 “ *of parliaments,* in this kingdom,
 “ to

“ to fix or eight years at most ;”
 than which, nothing can be imagined
 more disrespectful to his present Ma-
 jesty, in the midst of our congratu-
 lations and exultations, for having a
 virtuous, patriot-briton for our King.
 If the claim of this promise were
 universal, (as it is yet far from being)
 then might the nation be justly
 charged with the basest insincerity.

WERE the demand upon the elect-
 ed only to promise, *That they would,*
to the utmost of their power, endea-
vour to obtain a law, for limiting the
length of Parliament to six or eight
years, though it would be very un-
 constitutional, and simple enough;
 yet, if the electors were willing to
 stigmatize themselves in such a man-
 ner, and the elected were content to
 put their necks under the yokes, I
 do not know that it would give any
 C great

great offence to lookers-on. Other branches of the legislature would, probably, protect the publick from the mischief of such a promise; if, upon solemn debate, and due consideration, it were apprehended, mischief would grow out of it.

BUT it seems no interruption is to be feared, but from the Crown: therefore, it is added, *That he shall promise, to oppose every money-bill of longer duration than six months, until such a bill be obtained.*

THROUGHOUT the English history it will not be found, that friends to the King, or those who had a confidence in him, ever hung out this power of the commons over money, in a menacing way, to prevail in any point. • Whenever this threat has been thrown out, it will be found,
to

to have been preceded by some breach of promise, or some egregious trifling with the people, that irritated the commons.

BUT, in this case, in the same breath with which they have express'd the most sanguine hopes of their Prince, but just stept into his throne, these wondrous modern patriots, without any trial, consequently without any disappointment, have uttered the most abusive suspicion of his not intending to do right; and denounced their fixed resolution, to compel him to do that right, which they suppose he will refuse.

THEIR manner of proceeding can bear no better construction, let them talk ever so vehemently of their loyalty, or their upright meaning. It has not even the cloak of patriotism;

otism ; for it violates the constitution at first setting out : and, indeed, it would be shameful, to call a wanton, an unprovoked call to opposition, patriotism.

It cannot be pretended, that this menace is meant to other than the Crown : because, though, in truth, all grants of money are for the support and preservation of society ; yet they relate immediately to the executive power, to which the care of society is intrusted ; and which is enabled to do its office, well or ill, according to the means it is supplied with : so that, I cannot help, though very unwilling I am to do so, calling it an act of great and inexcusable disrespect to his present Majesty.

ONE, more *furious* than the rest, hath hit upon a trite observation, “ It
“ is

“ is in the best of reigns you must
 “ provide against the worst.” I wish
 he had laid down some rule to distin-
 guish between the best and worst. I
 am sure this *bullying* method of pro-
 ceeding doth not make a difference.
 It would, indeed, be a very guilty,
 or a very timid government, that
 would submit to it. Was it ever
 heard of in times past, that such
 means were used in good reigns; or,
 if they were, that they succeeded?
 There has been, usually, a disposition
 in good times, on all sides, to do the
 thing that was right; and, therefore,
 it was easily done; and this mark'd
 good times. But it must have been
 ever a disrespect to good kings, to
 put upon their actions an appearance
 of force, which becometh tyrants
 only.

NOR is this course less disrespectful
 to

to his late Majesty, whose reign was spotless; never disturbed by complaints, or even murmurs, for any deviation from the minutest rules of good government. He neither denied or delayed justice. That his immediate successor, blameless as he is, should be thus fiercely attack'd, by the stern brow of resistance, must imply some arbitrary acts, or, at least, some denial of justice, to the attackers, in the predecessor, that warrant suspicion of, and such rough dealing with, his successor: yet this country must, upon retrospection, bless his long sun-shine reign; be thankful for the many excellent laws he gave it; for the uncommon encouragement of its manufactures, by which it was more improved in his time, than in all the rest since it became the seat of an English colony; for the noble and firm foundation laid for further improvement;

provement; of all which I shall be hereafter more particular. If there be gratitude in man, his paternal care of us calls it all up, to defend his memory, against every insinuation to fally it. And occasion offers: for this threatened force, this compulsory scheme, must of necessity imply, that it was wanting in the last reign, as it cannot yet be necessary from any defect in this.

I AM now *to vindicate the last parliament*, against the profuse aspersions of the present renowned champions for liberty.

PARLIAMENTS before the reign of James I. and from 10 Henry VII. were uncertainly held, but were never of long duration. From the commencement of parliamentary journals, it appears, that a parliament was called in
1613,

1613, and lasted to 1615; in 1634, and lasted to 1635; in 1639, and ended in 1648; in 1661, and ended in 1666; in 1692, and ended in 1693; in 1695, and ended in 1699; in 1703, and ended in 1713; in 1713, and ended in 1714; in 1715, and ended in 1727; in 1727, and ended in 1760.

HENCE it is clear, there was not a parliament, from or Henry VII. that could be reasonably called a long one, before the last. This outcry then against long parliaments, (for which I declare I am no advocate) must be upon account of the last; and certainly would not be, *after its dissolution*, if it were not thought, or were *pretended* to be thought, to have acted ill, and to have deviated, in many instances, from its duty.

INDEED,

INDEED, a *furious* writer, who hath exhibited his notable work, in Mr. *Faulkner's* journal, for its quicker and easier circulation, and is now adorning other papers with it, brings a round and home charge against that parliament in the following words: " An
 " house of thirty-four years duration,
 " grew worse and worse every seven
 " years---the last seven years record-
 " ed in your hearts---your parliament,
 " at the devotion of your V--e R-y;
 " your King overflowing with bene-
 " volence, and dying a stranger to
 " your distresses."

It is wonderful this writer was so civil to the late King; for he cannot suppose his Majesty was so great a stranger to his kingdom of *Ireland*, as not to know, he had the same parliament throughout his reign. If
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the parliament was really *worse and worse every seven years*, the electors are to account for it; who, in the course of that parliament, chose, at least, three hundred and twenty new members. A very small share of the censure falls upon the first elected, there being at the dissolution, but fifty-three original members in the house of commons. The people had usually an opportunity of electing twenty new members for every session. Why did they not mend their hand?

THE accusation of the house *growing worse and worse every seven years*, if it was true, would fall, with its full weight, upon the electors, who sent to parliament, every seven years, sixty-five new members. If the *wickedness* of this long parliament be the objection to it, (and none other is talked of, save that persons very *fit* and

and *sufficient* in their own conceits, had not frequent opportunities to offer their service to the public) and, if it be justly charged, that the parliament kept the King in the dark about that matter, it cannot be expected, that things will be much mended, in any new parliament, though it were an *octagon*, or but an *hexagon*; for it cannot be expected, they will tell tales of themselves. It would well become this parliamentary censor, before he dogmatically decides, to look into the journal of the commons: he would find, if he can understand, that the parliament was not, in the last seven years, quite as supple as he describes it to be, or some others wished it should be.

THERE are not now many in being, that were capable of making due observations upon things, at the time

of the late parliament's sitting down. To the few I appeal, whether PRIVILEGE of parliament was not then a nuisance:---whether property was not often laid hold of unjustly, and withheld violently from the right owners, by power of privilege:---whether elections of members depended not, in a great measure, upon the arbitrary wills of returning officers; who appointed, too often, times for holding elections, to surprize and distress those they did not favour; who frequently received votes not duly qualified, and made partial returns, founded on their own iniquitous proceedings:---whether occasional votes did not often disappoint the hopes of the most popular persons, and frustrate the endeavours of people of the best property, to send the fittest to parliament:---whether property was not very precarious, in many instances, and

and hard to be come at, through intricacies and other difficulties of proceedings at law :---whether the country was not one huge, dreary waste, hardly producing a comfortable habitation :---even about the capital, whether there was a villa better, comparatively, than an hog-sty ; and, whether the land to its suburbs, did not retain its natural barrenness, and ill face :---whether much of the country, especially of the mountainous parts, was not unoccupied, through want of people and stock ; unimproved, for want of money ; or unclaimed, being not worth the quit-rent :---whether all markets were not ill supplied, inland commerce rendered impracticable, and a communication between distant parts almost cut off, for want of passable roads, free from rocks or quagmires :---whether tenants were not eternally breaking or defrauding their landlords,

or

or landlords oppressing tenants :--- whether the police of the kingdom was not every where bad :--- whether the exports of the kingdom were not in a low state ; yet the imports high, much too high, to hold a proportion with the exports, by which the cash was continually draining away :--- whether the poor had any relief, in sickness or in health ; and whether the lowest class of people were not all miserably poor :--- whether, to sum up all, every assizes did not produce a new carnage, for want of employment, instruction, or good example, for the people.

I CALL upon the few, who remember, to say,---were not these things so?

I CALL upon the many, of this day, to say,---are they so now?

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THE most unwilling, the least ingenuous will answer,---For the most part, they are not so.---But, they will add,---What merit had the parliament in the reformation?

THEY abridg'd their own privileges, and gave all the world liberty to sue them, fourteen days after any prorogation or dissolution, till fourteen days before a new parliament, or the re-assembling of the old; and provided, that no person prevented from suing by privilege, shall be barr'd by limitation, be nonsuited, dismiss'd, or his suit discontinued; that the king's debtor shall be always accountable; that, at any time of privilege, an original writ may be filed, or any original writ sued out, to bar limitation; that no privilege shall be allowed in any suit or motion for an injunction, to be restored to the possession of lands,

lands, &c. taken by force, or obtained fraudulently, &c. by tenants holding over, or betraying the possession of landlords or lessors; and that replevins may be executed and prosecuted against any person intitled to privilege.

THUS did the last parliament set every person loose, to recover his rights, whatever they may be, from members of parliament; and removed that screen of injustice, of which many complained bitterly, and suffered by forely.

ELECTIONS are no longer at the mercy of returning officers. Salutary laws have interven'd. They must now give due notice of time and place, and make returns in season; the qualifications of voters are ascertained; and the protestant interest effectually secured, that the meddling of papists at elections may not shake it.

CIVIL

CIVIL BILLS, the foundation of credit and commerce amongst ninety nine in an hundred of the people, are extended to debts of twenty pounds; and are establish'd in *Dublin*, the only place in the kingdom that had not the benefit of them before. The recovery of *rents* is made easier and more certain, which hath added much to the value of land; and *Tenants* are better secured from oppression, which encourages them to toil and labour. *Tytbes* and small dues are recoverable at small expence, without the vexation of spiritual courts. *Disabilities* are, in many instances, removed, that were heretofore bars to justice. Proceedings at law are in the *English language*; are no longer mysteries, but open to every man's inspection. In short, the laws provided by this parliament, for settling and securing property, for strengthening and enlarging credit,

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are

are too numerous, to be mentioned particularly, in a work of this sort.

THE noble roads made from end to end of the kingdom, and, in many places, athwart the kingdom, have invited the inhabitants to repair, in like manner, many privater roads; and all together they have opened a communication, and created a commerce, that have supplied old markets, and begot new ones, to the mutual convenience and accommodation of buyers and sellers. And, the inland navigation, undertaken and carried on with great spirit and liberality, by this parliament, in all quarters of the kingdom, especially that monument of their wisdom, generosity and patriotism, the canal carrying on from *Dublin* to the river *Shannon*, when compleated, will quickly raise towns; increase manufactures; turn villages into cities, and barren mountains into meadows

meadows and corn-fields; supply all the great cities upon the sea-coast with necessaries, which heretofore they had from abroad; and, what is a natural consequence of the whole, and worth all, will correct and improve the manners of the people, by having traffick and intercourse with strangers.

MARKETS have been better regulated; measures and weights reformed and ascertained; combinations of manufacturers and others, detrimental to the public, forbidden and made penal; perjury and forgery more severely punished; idleness stigmatized and made more penal; especially *gaming*, and horse-racing for small sums, (which usually draws together more of the low people, and has not the advantages of horse-racing.) Every power given to magistrates, that was desired, for suppressing vice, and preserving society, and for amending

the police. It lies upon others, to compel magistrates to do their duty: The parliament discharged its part, in providing so many good laws.

WHEN I am upon this subject, I should take particular notice of the law, for new modeling the corporation of *Dublin*, which affords full evidence of the true regard this parliament had for liberty, and of their extensive love of mankind; and ought to secure to them the most honourable and grateful remembrance of those, who, long and eagerly, fought for that relief, which they now enjoy, and, it is hoped, will make a good use of.

TILLAGE has been a principal care of this parliament. Every feasible method has been applied to the encouragement thereof. Rewards have been proposed for improving barren ground,

ground, which would occasion an increase of tillage. But the chief encouragement it hath received is from that sensible præmium, for bringing corn to *Dublin*, which answers the great purposes, of supplying this great city at home; of keeping a large sum of money in the kingdom every year; of improving and enriching the interior parts of the country; and of carrying back, at an easy rate, commodities much wanted in the parts from which the corn comes.

EVERY good scheme for the strengthening the protestant interest; for introducing and improving arts and manufactures; for comforting and relieving the poor, were adopted by the late parliament.

THE *incorporated Society for English Protestant Schools*, the charitable effects of which the Papists dread, and resist

resist more than all other efforts to reform them, subsists chiefly by the bounty of that parliament: the *Dublin Society*, that source of industry, improvement, wealth and happiness, hath also tasted of their liberality: their charity and munificence have been unbounded. Every corner of the kingdom, that revealed its necessity, received relief. The hospitals and work-house, the ornamental and useful structures of this city, more especially publish the patriot zeal of that parliament, to promote learning and trade, to beautify their country, to make it an inviting residence for strangers; and to allure the natives, to be content with their *natale solum*, which would save many of them from wandering and ruin.

WHAT are the fruits of all this labour? walk round this capital and behold. See the difference between the old

old and new houses. Examine the increase. Observe the nobility and rich gentry, that are content to reside in their own capital; that find winter entertainment sufficient at home. Then mix with the traders; instead of being poor importers, as formerly they were, you will find them numerous, and wealthy exporters; sending out the produce of your country for luxury, instead of the cash. Behold the country around; a delicious garden; with a beautiful temple, at the end of every vista, and a well-contrived summer-house at every angle. Recollect the expanded, shallow, sandy, dangerous sea; see it inclosed, deepened, made a lovely, capacious basin, pleasing to the eye, and a safe haven for numberless ships, that carry out what you can spare; and quickly return with what you need, *or will not be without.*

THANK

THANK God! the good effects are not confined to this capital; industry rears its head every where, manufactures spread, and the condition of the people shews it. There were in remembrance of many of us, but two sorts of people in this kingdom. There is now a middling people, grown out of trade and manufactures, that feeds and warms the lowest species. Every body knows, that the price of land is, to a tenant, risen, within the time I write about, every where double, in many places more. The taste for building, planting, and laying down ground, diffuses itself surprizingly.

A STATE of the most material exports, in the years 1727 and 1759, will best illustrate the whole matter, and shew the beneficial change in this island.

Beef,

	<u>1727.</u>	<u>1759.</u>
Beef, barrels,	127753	164902
Butter, hundreds,	153703	229227
Hydes, tanned,	60895	67756
Hydes, untanned,	57373	65068
Linen-cloth, yds.	4692764	13375456
Linen-yarn, hund.	11450	31042
Pork, barrels,	10822	54400
Shoes, pairs,	4343	11703
Woollen and bay-	} 76238	93481
yarn, stones,		
Tallow, hund.	38391	42348

NOTHING can more clearly evince the improvement of the country, than the increase of the exportation of beef and butter: for by the flourishing state of the manufactures, there can be no doubt, but people increase and live better; and, therefore, the consumption of beef and butter must grow at a great rate at home. The supply for that, and for the increasing exportation, must proceed from

F

additional

Beef,

additional stock of cattle, which is most certainly occasioned, by dividing, inclosing, and cultivating the ground, which is all clear gain, and a new yearly fund of wealth. The large exportation of pork also shews, a proportionable increase of tillage.

I MIGHT proceed to make many useful remarks upon the nature, and present state of our exports; but they will require a separate work. They would be too bulky for this occasional paper.

BESIDE the beneficial increase of exports, it must not be forgotten, to put the reader in mind of the gradual abatement of manufactured imports, by the encouragement administered to undertakers of manufactures in this kingdom; such as paper, hardware, silk, glass, printed linen; by which very large sums have been saved.

It

It will not be amiss to make an observation or two here, by the by; perhaps, they may rouse people, to a suspicion, that they may not be always thought worthy of public taxes, if the public receives no benefit by them. The observations I think fit to make are, first, that *coals* have, ever since last session of parliament, been at an extravagant price; and we have no relief from our Irish collieries, notwithstanding the prodigious sums laid out in harbours, canals, and waggon-ways. Next, that of *cambrick*, there were imported in 1726 but 37813 yards; in 1759, 111067 yards; though that particular branch of the linen manufacture hath been indulged for years, with a particular tax to establish it.

HAVING thus dispatched this part of the vindication of the late parliament, I proceed to shew their care of

the public treasure; which will illustriously appear, by comparing the condition, with respect to money-matters, in which they found the kingdom, with that in which they left it.

THEY found the kingdom in debt, in 1727, 127371 *l.* but on the 25th of *March*, 1759, the nation was in credit 65774 *l.* though in that time there had been a long war with *France* and *Spain* united; and another, for some years, with *France* alone.

AND, in that time, they had granted, for promoting arts and manufactures; for opening collieries; for making harbours and piers; for erecting schools, churches, bridges, and other publick edifices; and for the inland navigation, 413950 *l.* over and above 38823 *l.* laid out on the castle of *Dublin*; 30000 *l.* on the parliament-house, and 12000 *l.* in printing journals.

YET

YET the encrease of the ordinary revenue, from 1727 to 1759, was but from 500879*l.* to 577100*l.* *per ann.* and the military establishment grew from 365442*l.* to 410000*l.* *per ann.*

It will be objected, *that, in the last session, there were votes of credit for 450000*l.* of which 250000*l.* have been raised, and the rest may; so that the parliament hath left the kingdom in so much worse a condition than they found it.*

THE votes of credit are granted; but must, from the circumstances of the times, be excused; nay, not only excused, but applauded: unless men will be selfish enough, to expect the great benefits of a successful war, without contributing any thing to the charge of it. Every *British* acquisition in *Asia, Africa, or America,*

turns

turns to our account, in the sale of linen and provisions, and in supplying *England* with woollen yarn, advancing in value with the woollen cloths, for new conquests. Happy it is for us, that we are called upon for our aid, in men and money; it entitles us to a continuation of those advantages we enjoy, and to an increase of them.

So much being premised, it remains only to shew, that those votes of credit were necessary.

THE credit to the nation at *Lady-day* 1757, was a sum of 249422*l.* But the extraordinary charges were so great, of which was a sum of 105621*l.* granted by parliament, for promoting arts and manufactures, &c. that by *March* 25, 1759, the credit fell to 65774*l.*

It

It being necessary to raise a considerable number of troops, for the defence of this kingdom, against threatened invasions; and to enable us to assist the mother-country, in the offensive and defensive war she was obliged to carry on, in every quarter of the world; the estimated charge of them, (now in actual service) to *December* 1761, was a sum of 241592*l.* to which if we add the extraordinary expence of the last two years, which could not be reasonably expected to be reduced in the succeeding two years, being the sum of 183648*l.* then the necessary sum to be credited for the government was of 425241*l.* The new and considerable grants of parliament for purposes of improvement, the old demands upon that account unsatisfied, the articles of the stated ballance, that will never be recovered, and the unforeseen occasions of government, in a war desperately

ſperately carried on, by an obſtinate and ſpiteful enemy, will overballance the difference between 450000*l.* and 425241*l.* with the old ballance of 65774*l.* added thereto.

If the whole were to be raiſed, it cannot be imputed to the parliament, as a fault, that they provided, in a raging war, where *all* lay at ſtake, the means to defend *all*. Thoſe now loudeſt in talking, of *their giving the public money by thouſands, and hundreds of thouſands*, when danger ſeems to be far off, would have been moſt forward in impeaching, if any diſaſter had happened through an unſeaſonable and ill-judged parſimony. But part only is raiſed; the viſible caution of perſons in power, not to raiſe more, till there be need, juſtifies the parliament in placing their confidence where it is: hitherto, nothing has appeared, to draw juſt cenſure

sure upon them ; we ought to wait with patience for the final event. If the war lasts, we must go to greater expence ; an honourable peace will soon refund the principal, with large interest ; if that should soon happen, there can be no doubt, but there will be a proportionable saving on the *votes of credit*.

So far, I hope, I have maintained my tenets : I am now to shew the absurdity of this project.

AND here I must suppose the projectors to be successful : that they have prevailed upon the majority of the elected, “ to promise, to oppose
 “ any money-bill, for more than six
 “ months, until a law be obtained,
 “ for limiting parliaments to six or
 “ eight years ;” and that they all keep their promises faithfully, whether they change their opinions or not, about

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the propriety of the proceeding; and that the money-bill for six months, that is from *Christmas* to *Midsummer*, and the sexennial or octennial bill for parliaments go *pari passu*, which is as much as they can desire, and return before *Christmas*; but the money-bill passing, the lords reject the other.--- Where are they now?----The lords have a right to agree or not, and they have exercised it, and must not be quarrelled with upon this account. The king has got the additional duties for six months; and cannot be in any sort answerable for the lords disrespectful treatment of the commons. Then the *covenanters* begin again, and send another money-bill forward, for six months, from *Midsummer* to *Christmas*, and the parliament bill in company. If they come back, and the parliament bill meets the same fate; what help? Will the most hearty favourer of this wise scheme, be content

tent to be called together every six months, to pass a 'money-bill; or would they take a shorter cut, and vote the lords USELESS?---In my humble opinion, the first would be too troublesome and expensive a method; the latter very difficult for even those heroes to compass. Under such circumstances, I can think but of one method, of extricating them out of the labyrinth: " that they would be graciously pleased, to transmit a commission, to the King and British council, authorizing them, if they shall think fit, to send back the limiting bill; to insert in the money-bill, *two years* instead of *six months*."

By this time, the necessity of yielding may be discovered, by the slowest or most factious understandings, and things may jog on in the old way. But suppose, the council of *Great Britain*, some of whom, I am told, read *Faulkner's* journal, (where this deep-laid

scheme has been, in my apprehension, very incautiously inserted) should take it in their heads, as is not unlikely, being upon their oaths, and properly jealous of the honour of the crown, to advise the young King, not to submit to such DEMAGOGUES, in the beginning of his reign, but to put their favourite bill under the cushion. If they continue to bluster, and to embarrass all public business, and to waste their time in idle remonstrances, I may venture to prognosticate, that they will thereby gain more, than in their hearts they will desire; for their duration will be very short.

IN truth, the attempt is ridiculous; but the wealth of the country being, at a moderate computation, double what it was at the sitting down of the last parliament, has produced double the number of enterprizing lawyers, of estated country gentlemen, and

and of weighty traders. There are but the same counties, cities and boroughs, to be represented, and double the number of candidates; so that a body may say, there are about two thousand, who think themselves duly qualified to be legislators. Old connections and interests stand in the way of new pretenders, which cannot be mastered, but by some bold stroke, that may raise an enthusiastic fermentation, to jumble all things, and to throw somewhat upon the surface, conducive to their purposes.

AMBITION is not to be cured; virtuous ambition needs it not; and criminal ambition will not admit of it. Even disappointment, repeated disappointments, will not, we see, keep the latter down. It will disturb the world, throw every thing into confusion, until it tires, or otherwise conquer its opponents. But great mischiefs must ensue,

ensue, before they can accomplish what they desire; therefore I wish they could be diverted from their pursuit, and employ their busy minds, in somewhat truly useful to their country, which they pretend to be their sole care.

IF they be LAWYERS; we should be thankful, if, instead of furnishing us with *Utopian, political creeds*, they would instruct us, to get rid of COMMON RECOVERIES, the greatest reproach of their profession, a disgrace to common sense, and frequently the ruin of property, which it is pretended they secure:—to abridge suits in *equity*, where all begin or end; and to lessen the expence of officers, advocates, &c. that men of the best constitutions, may reasonably expect, to see an end to them; and men of middling fortunes may hope, to transmit something to their families, with
absolute

absolute decrees in their favour:----to restore the credit of *juries*, that their verdicts may, as they ought to be, the end of strife; that the establishing of a verdict may not be as controversial and expensive, as all the rest of a suit; and that the *common law*, that hath more of certainty in it than the law called equity, may be more respected, and resorted to.

IF they be COUNTRY-GENTLEMEN; let them set themselves against arbitrary acts of sheriffs, justices of the peace, and grand-jurors; make those offices of little profit, consequently the obtaining them, no favour:--- let them look into that dangerous innovation, practised by some *hasty* judges, of forbidding grandjuries, to examine *extra bills*, which, if it becomes an universal practice, will, upon the return of peace, quickly stock the

the country, with *tories*, *robbers* and *rapparies*, as plentifully as ever:—let them contrive more effectual methods of maintaining the real poor, and of punishing vagabonds:-----let them teach, how owners of land shall be forced, to copse wood lands, not worth above three shillings the *English* acre *per annum*, and to preserve them from cattle, for small house and plow timber; and to supply bark, the dearth or want of which obliges us to export so many untanned hides.

If they be TRADERS and CITIZENS; the publick will expect from them instruction, how to prevent *smuggling*, that deadly enemy to fair trade:---how to remove all obstacles to equality in trade:---all monopolies and combinations; more effectually to prevent forestalling, regrating, and ingrossing:---how to detect and exemplarily to punish

punish usury, that devoureth the profit of every small trader and manufacturer; or keeps the manufactures at an unsaleable price:---lastly, that he will apply his whole strength to prevail on the legislature, to ease all perfect manufactures of this kingdom, from duties upon exportation; and to permit every commodity, necessary for carrying on those manufactures, to be imported free from any duty.

HERE is work for every head, by which to prove his patriot heart. He will be thus better, and more usefully employ'd, than in putting hard words into people's mouths, and turning their heads with political maxims, which he neither expects or wishes to see establish'd; for, indeed, he, who takes *extraordinary* pains to get into parliament, doth not hope it shall be a short one; and

H fo

so he will prove when he gets there,
as well as the truth of that notable
saying of Doctor South, *That pro-
mises are like prophecies; never un-
derstood, 'till fulfilled.*

F I N I S.



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